

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-12

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FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0909
INFO USMISSION GENEVA
USMISSION USNATO PRIORITY
USMISSION USUN
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 PARIS 14099

GENEVA FOR SALT AND CCD DELS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PARM, UNGA, FR, UN, US
SUBJ: US-FRENCH CONSULTATIONS ON THE SPECIAL SESSION
ON DISARMAMENT (SSOD)

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: IN EXCHANGE OF VIEWS WITH
AMBASSADOR LEONARD AND ACDA COUNSELOR YARMOLINSKY ON
MAY 2 REGARDING PREPARATIONS FOR THE SPECIAL SESSION
(SSOD), TAITTINGER INDICATED THAT FRENCH WOULD GIVE
FURTHER THOUGHT TO THE NATURE OF UNGA RELATIONSHIP TO
A NEW DISARMAMENT NEGOTIATING BODY. FRENCH, HE SAID,
SEEK OUR AGREEMENT TO PRINCIPLE OF A RELATIONSHIP OF
THIS NEGOTIATING BODY TO UN BUT ARE FLEXIBLE ON
MODALITIES. LEONARD EMPHASIZED THAT US COULD NOT
ACCEPT SUBORDINATION OF THE NEGOTIATING BODY TO THE UN
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WHICH IN EFFECT WOULD MEAN THAT UN MAJORITY WOULD
DICTATE TO MAJOR STATES ON ISSUES AFFECTING THEIR
ESSENTIAL SECURITY INTERESTS. ON PROPOSAL FOR A
SATELLITE VERIFICATION AGENCY, TAITTINGER
INDICATED INTEREST IN FURTHER EXCHANGE OF VIEWS WITH
ACDA OFFICIALS AND WILLINGNESS TO MAKE REFERENCE TO
EXAMINING QUESTION OF FEASIBILITY OF SUCH AN AGENCY IN

SSOD PROGRAM OF ACTION. FRENCH EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT PREPCOM V HAS RECOMMENDED ADOPTION OF SINGLE FINAL DOCUMENT SINCE THEY BELIEVE CONSENSUS ON PROGRAM OF ACTION IMPROBABLE AND STATEMENT OF RESERVATIONS AS AT 6TH AND 7TH SESSIONS WILL BE INSUFFICIENT TO PROTECT WESTERN INTERESTS. THEY FORESEE KEY DECISIONS, ESPECIALLY ON MACHINERY, BEING REACHED ONLY ON LAST DAY, WITH SSOD POSSIBLY BEING EXTENDED UNTIL JUNE 30., END SUMMARY.

2. AMBASSADOR LEONARD AND ACDA COUNSELOR YARMOLINSKY, ACCOMPANIED BY AMBASSADOR HARTMAN, MET WITH GOF DISARMAMENT COORDINATOR TAITTINGER ON MAY 2 FOR FURTHER EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON MACHINERY AND OTHER ISSUES RELATED TO THE SSOD. THE OTHER PARTICIPANTS ON THE FRENCH SIDE INCLUDED: YVES PAGNIEZ, JACQUES DE LA FERRIERE, JEAN-LOUIS GERGORIN, ALAIN DEJAMMET, JACQUES LECOMPT, AND BENOIT D'ABOVILLE.

3. AT THE OUTSET, TAITTINGER ASKED LEONARD FOR HIS ASSESSMENT OF OUR APRIL 28 CONSULTATIONS IN MOSCOW AND FOR A DESCRIPTION OF WASHINGTON PREPARATIONS FOR THE SSOD. LEONARD INDICATED THAT BREZHNEV'S APRIL 25 KOMSOMOL SPEECH, PARTICULARLY ITS EMPHASIS ON THE PROPOSAL FOR NEGOTIATIONS ON THE CESSATION OF PRODUCTION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS, PROVIDED A GOOD INDICATION
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OF WHAT IS LIKELY TO BE THE SOVIET POSITION AT THE SPECIAL SESSION. SOVIETS HAD BEEN UNABLE, HOWEVER, TO PROVIDE US WITH ANY SATISFACTORY ANSWERS ON THE VERIFICATION PROBLEMS INVOLVED IN THEIR PROPOSAL. AS REGARDS PREPARATIONS IN WASHINGTON, LEONARD INDICATED THAT NO DECISIONS ON POSSIBLE US INITIATIVES HAD YET BEEN REACHED. HE BRIEFLY REVIEWED THE BACKGROUND TO THE CURRENT STUDY ON THE CUTOFF/TRANSFER QUESTION. FRENCH ASKED SEVERAL QUESTIONS REGARDING VERIFICATION ASPECTS OF THE CUTOFF IDEA AND INDICATED THAT THEY VIEW IT AS AN ARMS CONTROL RATHER THAN A DISARMAMENT MEASURE AND HAVE RESERVATIONS CONCERNING THE CONCEPT.

4. AFTER THIS BRIEF EXCHANGE AT BREAKFAST, THERE FOLLOWED AN EXTENSIVE DISCUSSION OF US AND FRENCH VIEWS ON MACHINERY ISSUES. LEONARD REVIEWED OUR POSITION ON THE NEGOTIATING BODY--THAT IT BE OF LIMITED SIZE, ACT BY CONSENSUS, AND INVOLVE THE CONTINUED PARTICIPATION OF COUNTRIES WHICH HAVE MADE A SUBSTANTIAL CONTRIBUTION TO INTERNATIONAL DISARMAMENT EFFORTS. US, HE INDICATED, BELIEVES PRESENT CCD CO-COMPOSITION

IS SATISFACTORY AND COULD NOT SUPPORT RADICAL CHANGE
IN ITS MEMBERSHIP. HE FURTHER INDICATED US FLEXIBILITY
ON THE CO-CHAIRMANSHIP NOTING THAT WE HAD CONVEYED

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THIS TO THE SOVIETS AS WELL AS IN OTHER CONSULTATIONS
AND AT PREPCOMS. IN MOSCOW CONSULTATIONS, SOVIETS
HAD INDICATED THAT THEY MIGHT BE PREPARED TO RELINQUISH
CO-CHAIRMANSHIP BUT ONLY AT VERY END OF THE SSOD AND IF
ALL OTHER CONDITIONS REGARDING THE NEGOTIATING BODY ARE
ACCEPTABLE. LEONARD AND TAITTINGER AGREED THAT ENTIRE
PACKAGE OF MACHINERY ISSUES WAS LIKELY TO BE RESOLVED
ONLY IN THE CLOSING DAYS OF THE SSOD.

5. IN OUTLINING THE FRENCH POSITION, TAITTINGER SAID
SEVERAL TIMES THAT FRANCE WANTS ITS FRIENDS AND ALLIES
TO AGREE WITH IT ON CERTAIN GENERAL PRINCIPLES WHICH
UNDERLIE ITS CALL FOR A NEW DISARMAMENT NEGOTIATING
BODY BUT THAT THEY HAVE AN OPEN MIND ABOUT MODALITIES
AND IMPLEMENTATION. THE IMPORTANT POINTS, HE SAID, ARE

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THAT THERE MUST BE AN ORGANIC LINK BETWEEN THE UN AND THE NEGOTIATING BODY, AND THAT THIS BE A NEW BODY. IT SHOULD NO LONGER BE A CLOSED CLUB (I.E., DOMINATED BY THE TWO SUPERPOWERS), BUT RATHER OPEN TO THE FULL AND EQUAL PARTICIPATION OF OTHER COUNTRIES NOT NOW IN THE CCD WHICH CAN MAKE A GENUINE CONTRIBUTION TO DISARMAMENT. HE INDICATED THAT THERE IS FULL AGREEMENT WITH THE US ON TWO POINTS: PRESERVATION OF CONSENSUS AND A LIMITED MEMBERSHIP TO ASSURE THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE BODY. MOREOVER, HE INDICATED IN GENERAL TERMS THAT THE POSITIVE ASPECTS OF THE CCD OUGHT TO BE CARRIED OVER TO THE NEW BODY.

6. ON THE QUESTION OF AN ORGANIC LINK BETWEEN THE NEGOTIATING BODY AND THE UN, LEONARD AND YARMOLINSKY STATED THAT US COULD NOT ACCEPT THIS IF IT MEANS THAT THE UN WILL DETERMINE THE MANDATE AND PRIORITIES. NOR COULD WE ACCEPT THE ESTABLISHMENT OF ARRANGEMENTS BY WHICH THE AUTOMATIC UN MAJORITY WOULD DICTATE TO US ON MATTERS AFFECTING OUR VITAL SECURITY INTERESTS. IT WAS CLEAR, LEONARD ADDED, THAT THE SOVIETS ALSO WOULD NOT AGREE TO THESE KINDS OF CHANGES. TAITTINGER REPLIED THAT THIS KIND OF SUBORDINATION HAS TO BE AVOIDED AND THAT IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO DO SO. INSTEAD OF GIVING ANY SPECIFIC RESPONSE, HE INDICATED THAT HE WANTED TO CONSIDER THE NATURE OF THE RELATIONSHIP TO THE UN FURTHER AND THAT HE WOULD HOLD FURTHER CONSULTATIONS WITH US IN NEW YORK ON THIS QUESTION JUST BEFORE THE OPENING OF THE SPECIAL SESSION (I.E., AROUND MAY 21-22).

7. ON COMPOSITION AND SIZE, TAITTINGER SAID THEY ENVISAGED A LIMITED ENLARGEMENT UP TO 40-45 MEMBERS. FOR THE FIRST TIME, HE INDICATED THAT IT WOULD BE
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ACCEPTABLE FOR CURRENT MEMBERS OF CCD TO REMAIN IN THE NEW BODY. WHILE INDICATING FLEXIBILITY ON MANNER OF SELECTION OF OTHER MEMBERS, HE REITERATED PREFERENCE FOR INVOLVEMENT OF SECURITY COUNCIL MEMBERS, INCLUDING NON-PERMANENT MEMBERS ON A ROTATING BASIS. LEONARD NOTED CONSIDERABLE RESERVE OF UN DELS TO THIS FORMULA AND SUGGESTED AS ONE POSSIBILITY THAT THE NON-PERMANENT SC MEMBERS COULD PERHAPS BE EX-OFFICIO MEMBERS OF THE NEGOTIATING BODY IF THEY WANTED TO PARTICIPATE.

SOVIETS, HE CONTINUED, HAD INDICATED SOME FLEXIBILITY ON COMPOSITION AND MIGHT ACCEPT BALANCE OF A FEW NEW NON-ALIGNED AND WESTERN STATES WITHOUT INSISTING ON FURTHER EE PARTICIPATION. DE LA FERRIERE SUGGESTED THAT WHATEVER AGREEMENT ON COMPOSITION IS REACHED AT SSOD COULD BE REVIEWED AT SSOD II BUT NOT CHANGED BY REGULAR UNGAS BEFORE THEN. THIS WOULD ASSURE SOME REAL CHANGE NOW BUT ALLOW FOR CONTINUITY OF EXPERIENCE FOR NEW MEMBERS. HE FURTHER SUGGESTED THAT, INSTEAD OF OBSERVERS WITH ONLY LIMITED INVOLVEMENT, CONSIDERATION MIGHT BE GIVEN TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SUBCOMMITTEES ON PARTICULAR SUBJECTS WHICH WOULD BE COMPOSED OF MEMBERS OF THE NEGOTIATING BODY AND OTHER INTERESTED STATES ON A FULLY EQUAL BASIS. THIS COULD ASSURE THE OPENNESS OF THE BODY WHILE AVOIDING THE SHORTCOMINGS OF ROTATION OR EXCESSIVE ENLARGEMENT. LEONARD SAID THIS WAS INTERESTING NEW IDEA WARRANTING FURTHER CONSIDERATION.

8. ON QUESTION OF CO-CHAIRMANSHIP, TAITTINGER INDICATED THAT ONCE CO-CHAIRMANSHIP IS GIVEN UP FRANCE WOULD BE FLEXIBLE AS REGARDS ALTERNATIVES. YARMOLINSKY OUTLINED OUR VIEW ON MERITS OF ENHANCED ROLE FOR SYG REPRESENTATIVE OR ELECTION OF INTERNATIONAL CIVIL SERVANT RATHER THAN MONTHLY ROTATION. IMPORTANT POINT,

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HE NOTED, WAS THAT CHAIRMAN HAVE ENOUGH AUTHORITY AND STATURE TO DEVELOP SOLUTIONS TO PROCEDURAL AND OTHER E.G., ESTABLISHMENT OF WORKING GROUP-- IN CONSULTATIONS WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF THE MAJOR STATES.

9. TAITTINGER ASKED OUR VIEWS AS TO TIMING AND SEQUENCE OF IMPLEMENTATION OF POSSIBLE CHANGES IN MACHNERY. LEONARD SUGGESTED THAT THERE WERE THREE LEVELS OF IMPLEMENTATION: THE SSOD COULD REACH AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE ON THESE CHANGES; THE CCD IN ANY CASE WOULD HOLD ITS SUMMER SESSION AND CONSIDER HOW TO IMPLEMENT ANY CHANGES AGREED TO AT THE SSOD; AND THE 33RD UNGA COULD PASS A RESOLUTION IMPLEMENTING THE DECISIONS OF THE SSOD. AT SOME STAGE, THE NEW NEGOTIATING BODY WOULD ADOPT ITS NEW RULES OF PROCEDURE. THE FRENCH SEEMED SATISFIED WITH THIS SCENARIO BUT DID CONFIDENTIAL

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NOT COMMENT IN DETAIL.

10. ON THE INTERNATIONAL SATELLITE AGENCY PROPOSAL, TAITTINGER SAID THAT AS A FOLLOW-UP TO HIS DISCUSSION WITH WARNKE, HE WOULD WELCOME THE OPPORTUNITY FOR A FURTHER EXCHANGE OF VIEWS WITH ACDA OFFICIALS. LEONARD SAID HE WOULD PASS THIS ON TO WASHINGTON, AND AGAIN NOTED OUR SERIOUS RESERVATIONS ABOUT THE FEASIBILITY OF THE FRENCH PROPOSAL. TAITTINGER, AT OUR REQUEST, AGREED THAT THE SSOD PROGRAM OF ACTION TEXT ON THIS ISSUE COULD INCLUDE REFERENCE TO THE SYG OBTAINING MEMBER STATE VIEWS ON FEASIBILITY AND NOT JUST POSSIBLE STRUCTURE AND FUNCTION OF SUCH AN AGENCY.

11. AT THE END OF THE DISCUSSION, FRENCH ASKED OUR VIEWS ON THE FORMAT OF THE FINAL SSOD DOCUMENT AND EXPRESSED CONSIDERABLE CONCERN THAT PREPCOM V HAD RECOMMENDED THE ADOPTION OF A SINGLE DOCUMENT. DEJAMET RECALLED THAT AT SIXTH AND SEVENTH SPECIAL SESSION, US HAD MADE AN EXTENSIVE STATEMENT OF ITS RESERVATIONS AND

THEN HAD JOINED A CONSENSUS. ON MATTERS OF DISARMAMENT AFFECTING VITAL SECURITY INTERESTS, HE SAID, THIS WOULD BE INSUFFICIENT PROTECTION. IF THERE WAS A CONSENSUS, FORMAL RESERVATIONS WOULD HAVE LITTLE BEARING. THE ALTERNATIVE IS TO HAVE A VOTE ON PORTIONS OF THE FINAL TEXT WHICH ARE UNACCEPTABLE. FRENCH ANTICIPATE THAT THIS WILL BE THE CASE WITH THE PROGRAM OF ACTION. THUS THE DECISION TO RECOMMEND ADOPTION OF A SINGLE FINAL DOCUMENT COULD LEAD TO A DIFFICULT AND CONTENTIOUS SITUATION IF THE EFFORT TO DEVELOP A CONSENSUS BREAKS DOWN. (NOTE: BELGIAN AND FRENCH REPS EXPRESSED THEIR RESERVATIONS ABOUT A SINGLE FINAL DOCUMENT ON LAST DAY OF PREPCOM V.)

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12. COMMENT: IT IS OUR IMPRESSION THAT FRENCH HAVE NOW UNDERSTOOD VERY CLEARLY THE NATURE OF OUR CONCERNS REGARDING A LINK BETWEEN A NEW NEGOTIATING BODY AND THE UNITED NATIONS. THEY DO NOT HAVE ANY ANSWERS NOW BUT HAVE INDICATED THAT THEY INTEND TO REFLECT CAREFULLY ON THIS PROBLEM BETWEEN NOW AND THE OPENING OF THE SPECIAL SESSION. TAITTINGER APPEARED BOTH MORE OPEN-MINDED AND FLEXIBLE ON THIS OCCASION THAN AT PREVIOUS CONSULTATIONS ON THE SSOD. THERE IS, HOWEVER, STILL QUITE A GAP BETWEEN THEIR POSITION AND OUR OWN ESPECIALLY ON THE LINK. THE SOVIETS HAVE MADE IT CLEAR TO US THAT THEY INTEND TO MAINTAIN A FIRM LINE FOR ONLY MINIMAL CHANGES WHILE THE FRENCH HAVE MADE IT EQUALLY CLEAR THAT THEY WANT MORE THAN COSMETIC CHANGES--E.G., A CHANGE OF NAME--AND WANT SOME PUBLIC RECOGNITION THAT THEIR CONCERNS HAVE BEEN APPROPRIATELY MET IN ANY NEW INSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS. END COMMENT.

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